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REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF COMMUNIST SUBVERSION
IN THE MIDDLE EAST AREA

ARAB

COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AMONG STUDENTS

US DISSEM

I. Introduction

The following report is the US submission for a special session on Communist subversion among students, prepared for the Liaison Committee meeting to be held in London in July, 1958, in accordance with the request of the Liaison Committee embodied in its report to the Council of January 21, 1958 (RP/C/4/D3). It sets forth the major techniques employed by Communists to influence students. It also describes some of the major programs currently employed in the subversion of students with particular reference to the Middle East area.

II. Communist Objectives and Methods for Influencing Students and Their Organizations

In spite of Communist doctrines emphasizing the key role of the working class, student groups have consistently proved important sources of cadre members and leaders for national Communist Parties. This has been of particular importance in countries where educated persons enjoy high prestige and are in demand for staffing newly created or expanding governmental and commercial organizations.

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In addition to seeking to influence their own nationals, some
Communist Parties, such as the French Party, have long
maintained special units for working among foreign resident students.
Four general techniques are used by the Communists in work among
students:

- a. Selection, recruitment into the Party and careful
indoctrination of individual students.
- b. Creation of Party-inspired, controlled student
organizations useful both as agitational instruments and as
ground for development of Party members.
- c. Infiltration of existing student groups by individual
Party members.
- d. Use of existing Party assets--both infiltrated and
controlled groups--in unity campaigns to enlist the support
and cooperation of student groups.

A Communist Party in its formative stage usually concentrates
heavily upon the first of these techniques. The other techniques
were, prior to World War II, usually alternatives. During periods
when Party policy concentrated upon a popular front strategy, the
infiltration of student groups and the promotion of mergers of
leftist student organizations comprise the major effort. During
periods of open and aggressive Party action, the splitting of
student groups, seizure of effective control of infiltrated bodies,
and the close identification of such bodies with the Communist Party

In some instances Communist Parties have employed all techniques simultaneously, but at all times the creation of new cadres from among students remains a basic objective of the Party.

It is significant to observe that the current leadership of most of the Communist Parties of the Middle East area includes a very large number of persons who first became involved in Communist Party activity during their student days. In some instances these relationships--as in the case of Khalid Bakdash, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Syria, and of top leaders of the Iranian Tudeh Party--were established twenty-five years ago while the individuals in question were studying abroad. In other instances--as in Egypt and the Sudan--this cadre creation process did not begin in earnest until after World War II and took place in local universities, where foreign Communists such as Henri Curiel of Italy and others undertook the task of secretly enlisting and indoctrinating student cadres.

It is also important to recall that much of this early activity among students was carried out illegally. On the basis of precedents elsewhere and exposed cases in the Middle East, it is reasonable to assume that a proportion of the students enlisted by the Communist movement, particularly during the period 1927-1936 and the period

1947-1954, were initially encouraged to conceal or obscure their Party affiliation. In certain cases promising individuals entering the professions and governmental service have been recognized as unique assets both by Communist Parties and by Bloc intelligence, and have been used as sources of political and military intelligence, including the penetration of anti-Communist security and intelligence services. In other instances such individuals have become prominent and ostensibly non-Communist figures in political parties and front organizations.

XII. The Current Program of Communist Subversion of Students in the Middle East Area

As a result of the general unity of action campaign launched in 1944-45, the International Communist Movement entered upon its current period of subversive activity among students armed with an additional weapon--the Communist front International Union of Students (IUS). Together with its close associate the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), this body has assumed a major responsibility for subversive activity in the Middle East. While the organization achieved no success in its appeal to youth prior to 1956, the cadres and sympathizers from the area that it did manage to enlist, train, and develop during the earlier years of its existence are now attaining prominence in responsible positions in the Party and fronts, and are increasing the appeal and effectiveness of Communist programs. This fact tends to give effective support to the youth programs of local

Communist Parties whose reputation and past performance are such that their programs would otherwise prove abortive.

The current IUS campaign involves four main lines of action:

- a. Extending program of activities specifically designed to appeal to Arab nationalist students.
- b. Provision of financial and other aid to students of the Middle East.
- c. Encouragement and international support of selected activities undertaken by local student organizations.
- d. Participation in "non-political" unity of action programs with students from the Middle East area at all possible levels and with all student bodies willing to accept such contacts, in the area of Soviet Bloc student organizations and of the more effective IUS national affiliates in the Free World.

IV. The Appeal to Arab Nationalist Students

The IUS and the WFN are enhancing their appeal to area pride and nationalism by giving responsible posts, expanded duties, and well-publicized official representational assignments to area nationals.

Increased Use of Area Nationals

In mid-1957, Samir Mohamed, a 26-year old Iraqi was appointed the Arabic Editor of the IUS publication, the World Student News. He relieved another Iraqi, Ali Hussein, who was thereafter to devote himself full time to work at IUS headquarters connected with the Arab countries.

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In October, 1957, it was announced that Ettayeb Aly Gidary, Sudanese Vice President of the IUS, had joined the headquarters staff of the IUS in Prague, where he was to concern himself chiefly with Middle Eastern and African student affairs. Just prior to assuming this post, Gidary made a tour of Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon, during which he discussed local and international student problems with student leaders.

In August, 1957, a 24-year old Sudanese, Mahmud Bahihar Gaffar, was elected First Vice President of the IUS.

Middle Eastern officers of the IUS are also being given positions of prominence in official IUS delegations to significant events.

Samir Mohammed represented the IUS at a student press meeting sponsored by the anti-Communist world student organization, COSEC, in Finland in August, 1957. Musa Abdel Gaffar of the Sudan was a member of an IUS delegation to the USSR in the spring of 1957. In November of 1957, the Sudanese Gidary was included in the official three-man IUS delegation to the 40th Anniversary celebrations in Moscow. Mahmoud Zaki of Iraq was a member of an eight-man IUS delegation to East Germany between 9 and 20 November 1957. In April 1958 Abu Qasim Saad of the Sudan and Samir Mohammed were members of an official IUS delegation visiting North Korea.

Sudhanandi Chaudhary of India assumed the position of Chief Editor of the World Student News in November 1957 and became a Secretary of the IUS in 1957.

In January, 1958, Sukheni Masjunier, also of India, became Chief Editor of the WFEH publication, World Youth. In August, 1957, he had been elected one of the seven WFEH secretaries at the WFEH Congress, to serve until August, 1959. Masjunier was an official WFEH observer at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo in December, 1957.

Saadati Babak of Iran, for several years head of the Colonial Bureau of the IUS, represented that organization at Cairo, and has recently travelled extensively in the Near and Middle East.

In January, 1958, Saadiri Mohamed reported to the IUS Executive Committee that Arab student representatives insisted on IUS materials being published in Arabic. An increase in such output is expected.

Organization of a Special IUS Project to Study Area History

A special travel project designed to appeal to nationalist sentiment is being supported by the IUS. This tour, in which IUS affiliates throughout the world are to participate, is scheduled to go to Egypt in December, 1958, to study Egyptian ancient historical relics.

7. IUS Student Aid Projects

1. Chemistry Laboratory to the Sudan

A fully equipped chemistry laboratory valued at \$30,000 (U.S.) will be given to Khartoum University through the Khartoum University Student Union (IUS and COMEC-affiliated) by the East German IUS

affiliate (FDJ). This amount was purportedly raised through "contributions and proceeds of voluntary work brigades." According to World Student News (WSN), No. 1 (January), 1958, "final arrangements for the transfer of the equipment were made in East Berlin by FDJ Student Section leaders and Mr. Abdel Hafis al-Rufai of the Sudanese Union's Council, who brought with him the necessary data on space and installation possibilities and technical assistance which the Sudan can offer. FDJ was invited to send a team of four students and university assistants to facilitate the installation. They will probably remain in the Sudan for several months until this job is completed and the laboratory in full operation."

2. Both the IUS and WSN called upon their national affiliates to observe 24 April, the anniversary of the Bandung Conference as "World Youth Day of Anti-Colonialism and for Peaceful Coexistence," by supporting an International Collection Campaign for the Youth of Algeria. Funds were raised at least in the Bloc countries through newspaper sales, art performances, labor contributions, etc. It is not known, however, if such funds have as yet been placed at the disposal of Algerian groups.

3. IUS Scholarships

According to IUS New Service No. 2-3, January-February, 1958, 65 IUS scholarships, which are distinct from Bloc government scholarships, are "valid for complete courses of undergraduate study in different subjects" in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany,

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Poland, and the USSR. The 65 IUS scholarships were "awarded to students selected by student organizations and university authorities." Among the recipients were students from Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, and the Sudan, in many cases apparently refugees or expatriates.

4. Student Sanatoria and East Kure

A limited number of tubercular students from the Middle East have been admitted for treatment to the IUS sanatorium in Paiping, and an IUS-supported health center in Calcutta is authorized not only to provide treatment locally, but also to select students from the whole South Asian area for treatment in Paiping.

VI. Ex-Political Unity Program

The bulk of IUS efforts toward students in the Middle East area fall in this field. Two major programs are involved. One is connected with World Youth Festivals, the other is designed to stimulate, support and gain acceptance in Afro-Asian solidarity activities.

The Youth Festival Program

At the Vth Youth Festival in Moscow in the summer of 1957, a relatively large number of youth and students from the Middle East participated. There were, for example, some 650 from Egypt, 500 from Syria, and 225 from Lebanon, as well as smaller contingents from virtually all the other states in the area.

While the opportunity to travel abroad at minimum expense is obviously appealing to many, and is responsible for much of the casual participation in these gatherings, Communist and Communist-front

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support of radical nationalist goals, particularly in the Arab World, plays a considerable role in attracting students and influencing some governments to permit or tolerate participation. Many governments in the Middle East, however, have tried to control and/or limit attendance at these festivals by denying or limiting passports, or influencing the composition, size, and attitude of the delegation in other ways. However, these measures in most instances have not prevented the front groups from attaining at least some of their objectives. Students already abroad have attended these gatherings, and subterfuges, organized and supported by the fronts, such as travel to intermediate destinations abroad have been used by individuals determined to attend. By this means, the size of delegations has been substantially increased, or in some instances, self-constituted "delegations" formed. Only such measures as tight organization of a national delegation under reliable leadership or the addition of reliable observers to the group appear capable of preventing full exploitation by the front of its opportunities.

The Festival itself is not, however, the only occasion on which subversive efforts are directed at these delegations. Perhaps the most important work is that undertaken after the gathering has dispersed.

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Impressed with the necessity of strengthening ties with the organizations and public figures who took part in the preparation for the Vth Festival, the WCC Executive Committee, and national affiliates have been urged to:

- a. Engage in correspondence, meetings, discussions, exchange of visits.
- b. Popularize the event by interview, newspaper articles, conferences, pamphlets, "report-back" meetings with specialized groups on special events (e.g., factory workers about pertinent trade meetings, etc.).
- c. Carrying out of agreements reached at the Festival between specialized organizations for future activities.
- d. Begin preparations for the VIth Festival.

On the last point, it is worth noting that preparations for the VIth Festival in 1959 are already well underway. This Festival is to be held in Vienna, Austria, beginning 26 July 1959. Possible alternate sites are Colombo and Prague, in the event of organizational difficulties in staging the Festival in Vienna. The estimated participation ranges from 12,000 to 20,000 persons. An international preparatory committee convened in Stockholm 24-27 March 1958, and a permanent commission of the committee has been set up in Vienna to direct future preparatory work. The Stockholm meeting was attended by 130 participants from 54 countries (including representatives

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of WFTU, IUS, WFTU, World Union of Jewish Students, Federation of Black African Students in Europe, and Swedish YEMA). A group of WFTU and IUS officials and headquarters' staff members attended and "steered" proceedings.

International Support for Afro-Asian Student Solidarity

Both the IUS and the WFTU have reported favorably and extensively to their national affiliates throughout the world on the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo, and have declared their intention of supporting all initiatives aimed at strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity of young people and youth organizations. This support is to include study trips, scholarships, medical assistance and provision of cultural, sport and other equipment to organizations in Africa and Asia. They have called upon national affiliates to support the projected Afro-Asian Students Conference scheduled to be held in Cairo in October, 1958. They have declared that this support will be given at the local, national, and regional level, and they have endorsed action by both uncommitted and even groups affiliated with COMEC.

On 9 November 1957 in Prague several hundred African and Asian resident students attended an IUS Algerian solidarity meeting.

Jiri Pelikan, President of the IUS, visited the USSR at the invitation of the Egyptian Council for Youth Welfare and Sports for discussions concerning future cooperation with the IUS and urged participation in the next IUS Congress to be held in Peking in September, 1958.

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The IES has also announced its support for an international seminar of students against illiteracy which is scheduled to be held in Rostov, Moscow, in December, 1958. This seminar was originally proposed by the Bulgarian Soviet IES Secretary, Jankov, in September, 1957.

IES Student Correspondents

Since May, 1956, the IES publication, World Student News, has been endeavoring to set up a network of correspondents covering every university center in the world.

Readers were invited to apply and to contribute material to the Editorial Board in Prague, and special benefits were offered for those who became regular correspondents.

The only IES correspondent in the Trusty Area identified so far is Rafiq al-Shady of Syria.

The value of the information provided by such correspondents, both to the IES in its unity appeals to local student groups and indirectly to the Soviet KGB intelligence organization, is obvious.

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